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ADDRESS

TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

No. III.

In the first Number of these Papers, addressed to your Majesty, I assured you, that, if you discovered an inclination to act fairly towards your people, you would soon become an object of censure, if not of abuse, with those persons in England, who had been amongst the loudest in expressing their joy at your being called to the throne of France; and that your Majesty would, in that case, experience the curious change of having for defenders those who were not for your recall, fearing that it might prove injurious to the cause of freedom, not only in France, but throughout all Europe.—By this time those who have read these papers (amongst whom I am not vain enough to hope that your Majesty is one) will begin to perceive, that my opinion was but too well founded; for, from the moment that it was seen, in this country, that your Majesty discovered no intention to gratify the wishes of the enemies of France; that you did not intend to plunge your country into a civil war by reviving the animosities of past times; that you did not intend to degrade your country, to make her the prey of her neighbours and the scorn of the world; from that very moment the men, who, in this country, had been the forwardest in urging your recall, began to change their tone respecting you.—The point, aimed at, and, I think, clearly established, in my last Number, was this, that the same persons who recommended to your Majesty to break your promise, to re-establish the ancient regime, and, in short, to oppress your people; and who, at the same time, recommended to you most earnestly to slight and degrade the soldiers of the Revolution; that these same persons recommended to the Allies to strip your Galleries and Museums, to keep their armies in France, and to retain their prisoners contrary to agreement, to narrow your dominions, to suffer you to have no Colonies; and that, too, upon

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the ground, that France, though she had *changed her Ruler*, was still *the same*, and was *radically and systematically the enemy of England*; and therefore, that it was the duty of every Briton to harbour a constant jealousy of her, and to endeavour, by all the means in his power, to keep France in a state of weakness.—Since the writing of that paper, these same persons, increasing daily in their hostility towards you and your family, as well as your people, have proclaimed, that we Englishmen ought to *bear in mind* “that the disgraceful *interference* of France in our quarrel with America, took place under a BOURBON;” and, inferring from that fact, that we ought to be as jealous of *you*, as we were of *Napoleon*.—It is impossible for malice to be discovered more clearly than it is discovered here. What reason was there for the reviving of this subject? It must be manifest to your Majesty, that the motive could have been no other than that of paving the way for a series of hostile conduct towards you.—But the *cause* of this hostility, so wholly unprovoked, ought to be exposed to the world. It is no other than this: that your Majesty has disappointed these people in not making lists of proscription; in not establishing a despotism; in not doing that, in short, which would have totally mined either your people or yourself; in not doing, in other words, that which would have made France the most feeble and despicable nation upon earth. If these men had found you a ready tool in their hands to raise the bloody flag of political revenge; if they had found you, upon your return, erecting scaffolds whereon to murder those who had survived the war and the intestine troubles of France; if they had seen you drive from your presence every man who has acquired glory in the armies of France; if they had seen you ready to agree to every proposition, tending to the degradation of your country; if, in short, they had seen in you a manifest disposition to be at once a tyrant and a traitor, you would have been, to this hour, as much an object of their praise as you were when you disembarked at Dover for

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Calais.—Your Majesty will hardly believe, that the prints, which I am compelled to point out by name, speak merely the sentiments of the owners or editors of those publications. You must be well aware, that, if these persons, obscure and contemptible as they are of themselves, did not know that their publications would be palatable to *others*, they would not send them forth.—You, indeed, must be well aware, that these owners and editors are little more than miserable tools in the hands of men of superior abilities and more weighty interests; and, therefore, what they publish becomes entitled to more attention than if they were to be considered as the mere offspring of the brain of these insignificant individuals.—Every article of news from France, relating to your measures, becomes an object of criticism, with the persons to whom I allude, who fail not to communicate regularly their observations to the public. Amongst the last of these there are some very well worthy of yourself and your people; for, in them, you will not fail to see a new proof of the fact, which ought constantly to be kept in view; namely, that those who are the enemies of a free and just government in France, are also the enemies of a due share of power being possessed by France; and, moreover, are *your* enemies, unless you will consent to be a foul traitor to your country.—It was not Napoleon that these persons hated so much as it was France! and this fact, which I formerly endeavoured to prove, they now, of their own accord, prove to a demonstration. They wish to see France despoiled of all power, of all greatness, and of all the means of becoming great. An observation of theirs, relative to the *military force* of France, to be kept up in time of peace, has made this a fact not to admit of dispute.—The publication, to which I here more particularly allude, was in the *Times* newspaper, of the 21st of May, in the following words:—"It is stated, but we imagine with no official grounds of accuracy, that the Peace Establishment of the French army is to be 220,000 men, exceeding by 68,000 the number of the army in 1792. Now, if the French Government had adopted any such unwise and extravagant resolution, we should think it the duty of all the other Sovereigns of Europe to say at once, and without the least ceremony, **THE THING SHALL NOT BE.**" We have all (British, Germans, Rus-

sians, Spaniards, or whatever we are) suffered too much from the enormous military force of France, to permit it to be accumulated again into so formidable a mass, threatening at every moment to break its bounds, and sweep away all before it. It would be madness in Great Britain to restore to France, Ships, Colonies, and Commerce; to pour wealth so profusely into her lap, as the mere price of peace, if the first use she made of it were to *sharpen the sword for war*. We perhaps pay too great a compliment to this loose and unauthenticated paragraph by noticing it; but if it be really true, we think it is quite sufficient to make us pause before we give up to France a single conquest, or even *restore an individual prisoner*."—I will not attempt to describe the feelings which must agitate the breast of every Frenchman, upon the hearing of such impudence and profligacy as this. Here we, at once, see with what views it was that these persons wished for your restoration. Here it becomes manifest, that they only desired that event in the hope of degrading and crippling France, having conceived the notion, that your Majesty would be made a tool in the hands of the enemies of your country's greatness.—What would be said here, if the other Powers were to prescribe to *us* what army or what navy we should keep up in time of peace?—What an uproar such an idea would create here! And what insolence, then, must it be in these persons to hold forth the justice and propriety of France being dictated to in this respect!—The number of troops spoken of as the peace establishment of France, will be less than her proportion, compared with the numbers kept up by other Powers. We shall, in all probability, not come down so low as 100,000 men of all sorts, besides the half-pay list, amounting to many thousands. And France has more than three times our *real* population, we having no frontiers to guard, and she having many hundreds of miles of frontier.—But, these matters are unworthy of notice, when we think of the impudent and infamous proposition to the Allies to **COMPEL** your Majesty to fix on such a peace establishment as they, or, rather, as these vile men may choose to leave you; and, what is still more infamous, the proposition to *retain our prisoners of war*, unless you consent to strip your country of the means of defence; unless you consent to annihilate the power of France. It is

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as well known to these vile men as it is to me, that there exists a Convention, according to which these prisoners are to be released forthwith; and yet, in the teeth of this solemn compact, these men would retain the French prisoners, unless you consent to leave your country in a state of feebleness, that would make her an easy prey to all her neighbours. They have the profligacy openly, and in plain terms, to recommend a violation of a treaty, which has been *fulfilled on your part already*; and that, too, upon the ground, that in the arrangement of your own domestic concerns you do not act as they could wish. We have, in England, the most profligate writers in the whole world; but, even from their pens, any thing so very profligate as this has seldom issued.—They now discover their real motives for wishing for the fall of Napoleon. They now discover, that their cheerings of your Majesty on the occasion of your recall, arose from the hope of France becoming degraded and crippled in your hands.—The *treaty of peace* now begins to be a subject of observation with them; and, it is worthy of your attention, how they here also shew their desire to see you and your country degraded. They take fire at the expression of the Paris journals, that the conditions are to be all *honourable to France*; and they particularly dwell upon a topic, well calculated to deceive the unthinking part of mankind; namely, that of the *Abolition of the Slave Trade*.—The *Courier*, of the 21st instant, observes, that “the King of France has assumed a tone, which the Allied Sovereigns were not prepared to expect.” By Allied Sovereigns these men mean themselves. They, indeed, expected you to be their slave; a vile tool in their hands.—There are two points, on which they begin to harp pretty loudly: the *commercial intercourse* and the *slave-trade*, in neither of which the Continental Sovereigns have, in fact, any interest.—As to these the *Times* says:—“As the negociation branches out into detail, difficulties of various kinds must be expected to arise. It is said, and we cannot be surprised at it, that M. Talleyrand has started many objections against the introduction of English manufactures, on the footing of the treaty of 1786. All reasonable modifications ought to be acceded to on our part. It would not be a wise policy in us to hold up Louis XVIII. to his people, as a So-

vereign incapable of maintaining their just rights. On the other hand, as we are rich in conquests, the restitution of which France must owe solely to our liberality, we have both the right and the power to insist on her *doing justice in return*. We ought not to cede an inch of territory to her, until she has agreed to an *equitable commercial treaty*; to a *reduction of her army within limits which would leave us nothing to fear for the peace of Europe*; and, lastly, to an *abandonment of the slave-trade*.”—Thus, as your Majesty will see, they mean to have such terms as shall put the resources of France into hands not her own. They think, that you will be made to consent to reduce your kingdom to a sort of colony to England. If this were for the *real* benefit of England; if it would tend to our happiness and freedom, I am afraid, that I myself might be tempted to wish for it too. But, convinced that I am, that such a treaty as these men desire would be a *real* injury to us; that it would tend to make us, the people in general, worse off than we now are; and that it would be to lay the foundation of a new war, I wish for fair and equitable terms of peace. I wish to see France left in possession of *great power*; because I am of opinion, that her possessing great power will be for the good of the people of England. It is not necessary for me to state precisely *how* I think that power is to operate in favour of our liberties. It is sufficient for me, that I am convinced that it will so operate; and it is a strong presumption that this opinion is correct, that we see all the most deadly enemies of our freedom anxiously labouring to prevent France from retaining any power at all.—The commercial treaty, existing before the Revolution, was very much complained of in France. It was certainly very advantageous to certain persons in England. But the Revolution has made great changes. France has now the means of manufacturing for herself. She has new resources. She will be able to feed a greater population. She will contain a greater mass of industry and enterprise. She is delivered of her load of debt. Her soil, climate, canals, rivers, and ports, offer abundant means for all sorts of commercial enterprises. But, indeed, all *tariffs* ought to be thrown aside.—French *wine, oil, corn, and brandy*, ought to come here freely and *without duty*; and France ought to be open to all our

wares and merchandizes, without duty. Then might we drink *Vin de Grave* at four pence a quart, and the French might have good sharp knives well-finished to cut their meat with, at a cheap rate. Why should they not be allowed to send us wine as well as cows, hogs, and poultry? If, indeed, a treaty like this were proposed on our part, I should call you illiberal for not agreeing to it. But, if it become a matter of custom-house rates, then these must be the best judges of the terms, who have to settle them after minute examination and discussion.—What however, I more particularly wish to point out, is, the language these enemies of freedom assume upon this occasion. They always, when speaking of our relationships with France, talk like *bullies*. They will give you no colonies, unless you give them a commercial treaty? That is to say, unless you give them the better part of the resources of France. That is their plain meaning. They wish to *force* a commercial treaty upon you; and yet they have the impudence to call it *an equitable commercial treaty*. If it be intended to be *equitable*; that is to say, if it be intended to give you as great advantages as it acquires from you, why do they talk of *compulsion*? If I have an article which I am about to exchange with my neighbour for an article of *the same value*, do I quarrel with him because he declines the offer? Much less do I attempt to *force* him to make the exchange. Any such attempt would betray a consciousness, on my part, that the exchange proposed by me was *not so very equitable*! We, it is said, propose to France a commercial treaty, equally advantageous to both nations. Either it is as advantageous to France as it is to us, or it is not. If the former, we can lose nothing by your Majesty's rejecting the offer; if the latter, it is your duty to reject it. A commercial treaty is a bargain between two dealers; and, it is something new in trade, that, because one dealer declines making a bargain with another, the former is to be attacked and treated as an enemy. One man offers another a price for his land, but the former, because the offer is declined, does not treat the latter as a foe. In short, these writers, and their like, looked upon your Majesty's return to France as the means of degrading and crippling France, and of making her, with her fine soil and climate, little less than a colony of England; which, if it were possible to accomplish, would be the very worst thing

that could happen for the *happiness* and *freedom* of the people of England themselves.—It has been said, that your ministers do not readily consent to any stipulation for the *abolition of the Slave Trade*; and, your Majesty will please to observe, that this is likely to become a very fruitful topic of abuse on you and the French nation.—It is my opinion, that France would be better, that she would be more powerful, more moral, more happy, and likely to continue more free, without any colonies at all. But, if her rulers think otherwise, it is for *them* to decide upon the justice and the policy of abolishing the Slave Trade.—To dictate to them what they shall do in this respect is to interfere in their domestic concerns. It is, in fact, to take the government of the territory of France out of their hands.—Nevertheless this is to be made, I can see, the ground of much abuse on you and your people. Craft and cant come in here to the aid of a hatred of freedom; for, it is a notorious fact, that, amongst those who have been, in this country, the most busy in the work of *Black freedom*, we find the most determined in the work of ensuring *White Slavery*.—For my part, I wish that Europeans had no slaves, black or white. But, it must not be overlooked, that we have had *time* to do away this trade; and that France has not; and, it is very probable, that to give her back colonies without leaving her the trade, would be to give her the means of making her poor and weak.—I have, above, quoted what the *Times* newspaper has said upon the subject. I will now shew your Majesty what you have to expect at the hands of others.—The *Courier*, of the 23d of May, says:—"There have been, if there be not now, some obstacles in the negotiation, one of which we understand related to the Slave Trade. Great Britain demanded the abolition of the Slave Trade by France as one of the conditions of the treaty; and the King of France demurred; or, according to report, refused to accede to the demand. He called it, *absurdly enough*, interfering in the internal Government of the French Colonies. What! is preventing the traffic with Africa in human blood an interference in the internal administration of a French Island in the West Indies? If Louis XVIII. persist in this refusal, he will be far indeed from having turned adversity to proper account. We should have thought it would have made him anxious to soften as much as possible the miseries

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“of the human race, and that he would
“have rendered any demand from us to
“abolish the Slave Trade wholly unnecessa-
“ry. However, there is one way in which
“we trust our able Negociator treated this
“refusal, supposing the report to be correct,
“which we hope it is not.—‘*No abolition—
“No Colonies.*’ We will not part with one
“of the French colonies—no, nor shall you
“have admission to the West Indies or the
“East, unless you distinctly accede to the
“demand which *God and Nature justify us*
“in insisting upon, the Abolition of the
“Slave Trade.”—The *Morning Chronicle*,
of the same day, says:—“We must receive
“the various reports of the terms of the
“treaty of peace now negotiating at Paris
“with reserve, at least, because they are
“evidently not finally settled. That some
“impediment has occurred, we believe;
“and we lament to hear that it is of a
“nature to excite *the indignation of every*
“*enlightened man in Europe.* It is said
“that a disposition has manifested itself
“in *the French Court*, to resist the inser-
“tion of an article in the Treaty with res-
“pect to the Slave Trade. Will it be be-
“lieved, after all that has happened, that
“the Bourbons hesitate to follow up that
“act of christian and moral beneficence
“which *England had the glory to begin*,
“and which even the most sanguinary
“members of Revolutionary France sup-
“ported? A writer, in a paper of yesterday,
“says, with eloquent force—‘*The States of*
“*Europe are to be called upon by England*
“to make a sacrifice, and great importance
“will hereafter be attached to this *single*
“demand, which is all she thinks it worth
“her while to make, on this occasion of al-
“most universal acquirement. She is now
“about to name the reward she seeks for
“all she has done. Considering how high-
“ly her services are extolled, and how
“widely they are acknowledged, our Allies
“must be prepared to find it of immense
“value:—and so it is. She demands that
“a foul felony may be discontinued, of
“which a vast Continent is the perpetrator,
“and a vaster is the victim! She de-
“mands that Europe may be rescued from
“enormous guilt, and Africa from hideous
“misery; she demands the Abolition of
“the Slave Trade!’ And this, we are
“told, the French Court *hesitates* at least,
“if not *refuses*, to accede! The return of
“their Colonies is nothing, they say, with-
“out the horrible means of cultivating
“them by human degradation, torment,

“and slavery! We trust the rumour is
“false, and that the *residence of the Bour-*
“*bon family for so many years in this*
“*country*, has endued their minds with
“*wisdom*, and their *hearts with feeling*,
“to withstand any advice that may be given
“them, so horrible and inhuman as the
“preservation of that traffic would be.”—
This is the sort of language now to be used.
The cant of the most cunning hypocrites on
earth is now to be played off against your
Majesty. A good way to meet the propo-
sition would be to propose to extend the
abolition to all the *slavery of whites*; to all
vassals, or whatever else they be called,
who are *bought and sold* in any, and every,
part of Europe! For, why should you have
more feeling for blacks than for whites?
This proposition would be a ground for
great and puzzling discussion.—For my
part, I am much more anxious about the
liberties of 30 millions of Frenchmen, than
about those of, perhaps, 100,000 Blacks,
though I wish not to see them in slavery.
I shall be very well contented, if I find,
that the brave and ingenious and amiable
people of France are free; that they possess
their property in security; that there is no
hypocritical system of oppression either on
their purses or their persons; that they are
not cheated by a sham representation; that
they are not made mere sponges, to be
squeezed by the Government; that they
are not mocked by the forms of liberty and
law; that they are not insulted by being
told that they are free, while they are, in
effect, the most degraded of slaves; that
they are not compelled to work like slaves
at the oar, to pamper the sons and daugh-
ters of corruption; that they are not made
the prey of an endless swarm of tame
cheaters.—In short, if I see the people
of France *fairly represented in the Legis-*
lature, I shall be quite content to leave to
that Legislature and your Majesty, to fix
the period of abolishing of the black slave
trade.—But, I cannot conclude this
Number of my Address to your Majesty,
without pointing out to you the inconsis-
tency of these writers, in respect of the
Slave Trade. They now cry out against
the slavery of the Blacks. The Blacks they
find to be quite fit for the enjoyment of
freedom. But, it was only six days ago,
that they deprecated the attempt to estab-
lish a free government *in France*, be-
cause, said they, **THE FRENCH ARE**
NOT FITTED FOR SUCH A GO-
VERNMENT! Aye, and they *regretted*,

"for the sake of HUMANITY," (vile hypocrites!) that your Majesty was pledged to make the experiment! They have only one step further to go; to recommend to the Allies, not to evacuate France, nor to release the French prisoners of war, unless you stipulate to make the people of France slaves.—From all this your Majesty, and every sensible Frenchman, will clearly perceive, that these writers have constantly in view the means of ruining your country; and that which is the great object of my Address, is, to impress upon the minds of Frenchmen, that those who are for using every possible means of weakening and degrading France, are also for using every possible means of preventing the establishment of a free constitution in that country. I have shown, that these persons are labouring to cause your Galleries and Museums to be stripped; to prevent you from having colonies; to narrow your ancient dominions; to cause the allied armies to remain in France in the pay of England; to inculcate the opinion, that France is the same under you as under Napoleon; and that it is the duty of Englishmen always to look on her as radically and systematically our enemy; to prevent the release of the French prisoners of war; to compel you to reduce your army so low as to leave your country without defence: and I have also shown, that it is these *same persons*, who express their *regret* that you have pledged yourself to the establishment of a government, in which the people shall be *really* represented in the Legislature.—Having shown this, I think that I may safely leave your Majesty and the French nation to draw the proper conclusion. I wish not to take credit for unusual liberality. My motives are, perhaps, full as *national* as those of my opponents; but, I hope, not chargeable with the baseness manifestly belonging to theirs. They would *exterminate* the French nation, in their fear of its becoming a bright example to the world. I am of opinion, that for France to be powerful, prosperous, and *really* free, would be a great blessing to the people of England. There is nothing which a friend of freedom in England ought to dread so much as the enfeebling and enslaving of France. Not only in Spain, and in Italy, and in Holland, are people waiting to see *what France will do*; but the eyes of all Europe are upon her; and her *example* must produce a great effect on the future lot of mankind.

When she has arranged her government, we shall be able to describe her situation; to examine and to show the effects of that government; to make comparisons between it and other governments; to look into things with our own eyes; to go to the spot, and report to those who cannot go. And, what have the *advocates* of our *own* system to fear from this?—Napoleon had the power of doing more good than any man that ever lived, and he certainly did a great deal, though he did some harm. But your Majesty stands next to him in point of power to do good, without the temptation to do harm. You are at the head of that people, whose example, in the course of a few years, *must* be followed; and, therefore, every act of yours becomes an object of anxious solicitude with every man who wishes well to his species. Napoleon often spoke of his *great plans* for the benefit of mankind, and I see no reason to doubt of his sincerity. But his means were of the wrong sort. They were suited only to the destroying of tyranny and corruption. They were necessary to that part of the great work. It remains for your Majesty to proceed in it by means of a more amiable kind. It is your happy lot to be able to spread freedom and happiness over Europe by the example of a people, who always have, and always will, give the fashion to the world.

TO MR. COKE.

On the Dispute about Corn.

SIR—It has surprised me very much to see that you have given yourself any trouble about the *Corn Laws*. The people, who thrive by spreading delusion, were sure to abuse you. They were sure to represent you, who are so liberal a man, in all your transactions in life, as a *grasping monopolizer*; as a man wishing to pinch those very poor, who are fed out of your fortune. They, who, by hook or by crook, pocket part of the money which you pay in taxes, were sure to hold you up as an oppressor. Had I been in your place, Sir, I would have left the passing of Corn Laws to those who are for raising great sums of taxes from the produce of the corn. It was not discreet in you, give me leave to say it, to expose yourself to the attacks of the herd of vulgar politicians, whose brains seem to be in their bellies. Only look at the trash which they are publishing upon this subject, and of which

the following, from *The Times* newspaper, of the 23d inst. is a pretty good specimen:—
 “In my former remarks, I predicted that
 “if the present measures for making a total
 “alteration in the Corn Laws were per-
 “sisted in, in the spirit then shown, a very
 “few days would see the tables of the two
 “Houses of Parliament covered with pe-
 “titions. My words have been fulfilled
 “and are fulfilling, and yet there are per-
 “sons so desperate that they would endea-
 “vour to force on the measures alluded to,
 “not only by precipitation, but by intimi-
 “dation. They would brand every oppo-
 “sition to an unreasonable monopoly of the
 “public food with the name of sedition.—
 “They have even dared to stigmatise as
 “seditious the conduct of a gentleman,
 “whose long and laborious public life
 “leaves us in doubt which most to admire,
 “the hardihood or the folly of the slan-
 “derer. This violent and factious ca-
 “lummy, I trust, will not deter any upright
 “servant of the public from doing his duty.
 “The true sower of sedition is he, who,
 “stimulated by a spirit of rapacity and
 “extortion, urges the precipitate adoption
 “of measures, which must of necessity
 “throw the whole empire into confusion,
 “and render the landowners of the coun-
 “try objects of suspicion and hatred to the
 “manufacturing and mercantile interests,
 “without any real benefit to the great
 “body of the agricultural population.—
 “Sir, the return of peace, after so many
 “years of a war which has convulsed Eu-
 “rope to its centre, naturally presented to
 “people of all classes in this country the
 “cheering hope that the burthens which
 “they had borne with unexampled patience
 “should be fairly and equitably lightened.
 “None, but the wild and visionary,
 “thought, that all our evils were suddenly
 “to vanish; none but the grossly selfish
 “and avaricious imagined, that in time of
 “peace they were to enjoy the exclusive
 “advantages which the war had thrown
 “into their hands. I have not heard that
 “the officers of the army and navy have
 “thought of petitioning Government to
 “continue their full pay and allowances,
 “or that the proctors and agents in the
 “prize courts have ventured to pray for a
 “supply of business at the public expence.
 “I suppose the dealers in Omnium must
 “be satisfied to see their golden harvest
 “pretty much curtailed; and the Con-
 “tractors for the supply of naval and mi-
 “litary stores must experience a consider-

able falling off in their profits. In short,
 “property will shift its channels. Gov-
 “ernment cannot and ought not to em-
 “bank and keep up any particular species
 “far beyond its natural level. It may and
 “it ought to take care that the fall should
 “not be too violent. *Motos componere*
 “*fluctus*. That is all it has to do. But
 “some greedy and avaricious individuals
 “have hit upon a plan to perpetuate, as
 “they foolishly think, their own extrava-
 “gant gains, at the expence of the com-
 “munity. Fools! not to see that they
 “will in vain strive to raise themselves on
 “the depression of their country. View-
 “ing this nefarious scheme in the light I
 “do, I must assume that its original in-
 “ventors were not among the national
 “representatives.”—Thus, you see, Sir,
 you have obtained the honour to be put
 upon a level with officers of the army and
 navy, proctors and bailiffs of prize courts,
 dealers in omnium, contractors, and the like.
 Well! It is just. It is really just. For
 to the country gentlemen of England, to
 their submission to the Minister of the day
 it is, that they owe what they now experi-
 ence. It is to this that they have to attri-
 bute, that every saucy placeman and pen-
 sioner now flouts them to their face. It is to
 them that we owe the want of a Reform,
 which would have protected them a great
 deal more effectually than all the Corn
 Laws that ever were invented. They were
 afraid of a disorganizing spirit, and they
 now feel the effects of their conduct.—Look,
 Sir, at the language of this man. He calls
 your efforts an endeavour to secure a mono-
 poly of the PUBLIC food! you are charged
 (for it is you who is meant) with calumny
 on an “upright servant of the PUBLIC!”
 When it suits their purpose, they call such
 people servants of the King; but, upon
 this occasion, they call them servants of the
 public! You are accused of rapacity and
 extortion. You! who, I dare say, never
 took so much rent as you might, without
 any difficulty, have obtained. You! who
 are known to be so generous a landlord and
 a master, and such a liberal encourager of
 industry and virtue, and who has spent
 so large a portion of your time in pur-
 suits tending to the benefit of others! And
 all this you are taunted with by a caiff,
 perhaps, whose fortune is made up of a part
 of the taxes, collected from your own estate!
 But, again, I say, it is your own fault, and
 the fault of the other country gentlemen.—
 You must bear the grating sound of the

words, which tell you that you have been a *monopolizer*, and that you want to continue the monopoly. How it must please you. How soft it must sound to your ears, to hear yourself confounded with those, whom you have been *paying* out of your estate! To hear the amount of your rents, a large part of which go to pay the *contractors*, reckoned amongst the **BURDENS** of the people, which ought to diminish along with the gains of the contractors. The *burdens* which people expected to be lightened, we are here told, included the *price of the loaf*; and the landowner is here exhibited as more avaricious than the contractor, because he wishes to perpetuate his *extravagant gains* even *after the war is over*, at the expence of the *community*!—There is no *reasoning* with this. It is too outrageously impudent to reason with. It is, however, the popular talk of the day. This corrupt press and the Lancasterian schools, will, upon this subject at any rate, beat reason out of the field. The number who eat bread so far exceed those who grow wheat, or own lands, that the odds against you are fearful indeed; and that was a fact well known to the false and cunning loon who was making this attack, and who, while he was, perhaps, one of the causes of the pauperism that covers the country, had the address to throw the blame upon you, whose income has gone to enrich him and to prevent the poor from actually starving.—No, Sir; had I been in *your* place, they never should have heard my voice in support of any law, the professed object of which is to protect the *farmer*, but the real tendency of which must be, if it has any effect at all, to *keep up the amount of the taxes*. In the last Number of the REGISTER I made this proposition as clear as day-light; or, at least, if I did not, it is out of my power to make it, or any thing else, clear. If I had been a landowner like you, I would have said nothing. It should, for me, have been the act of the Ministry and their majority. I should have viewed myself, in the question, not as the owner of property, but as a channel, or funnel, or conductor of taxes; and a very trifling portion of arithmetic would have enabled you to know, that low prices were as good for me as high prices. Perhaps, for I speak without book, there may be raised in England and Wales four millions of quarters of wheat. If it sell for twelve millions of money, the Government cannot have so much taxes out of it as if it sold for twenty-four millions of

money. Indeed they can have only half as much. It is the business of those, therefore, who want the taxes, to endeavour to keep up the price of corn, and not your business, who are merely a funnel for the taxes.—The wild notion of the writer, above quoted, is, that you have *profited* from the war! That you have been one of those, who *shared in the good things of the war*. And that now you wish to keep up your *full pay* after the war has ceased! Just as if you had not been paying wages and prices and taxes in due proportion to the price of corn; and just as if the paper-money, which actually exchanges at 30 per centum loss against the money of France, had made no difference in the thing.—However, Sir, all sorts of absurdities you will hear upon this subject; and we are not yet come to the period when the clamour will be loudest. If the harvest of this year should be bad; if blights should come very generally; if a mildew should, for our sins, pay us a visit. In short, if the crop should be remarkably unproductive, you must be sensible, that we shall see wheat again at eight pounds a quarter. *Then!* Then you will hear the out-cry about *monopoly*! Then you will hear the clamour about the *corn-laws*, especially if the American war should continue, and there should be a short crop on the Continent.—It appears to me, that Sir Francis Burdett takes the wise course in these matters. He knows very well, that it is not he who profits from high prices. He knows that he must pay in proportion to his rents and the price of corn. He knows, that he cannot stay, for one moment, the regular march of things. And he, therefore, always holds his tongue as to these matters of petty legislation. *Law* cannot give you price any more than it can give you sun-shine and showers. The whole quantity imported in a year makes so small an addition to the amount of the crop, that it is of no consequence worth notice; and that *peace* does not and cannot make any material difference permanently in the price of corn, is a proposition which experience has proved, and which reason would easily have proved, if experience had been wanting. If the Ministers thought, that, by passing a law, they could keep up the price of corn, they, upon that notion, acted wisely; because they, by keeping up the price of corn, kept up their taxes; and they discovered no little address in getting the landowners for their allies in the thing, because these, as being, according to the vulgar idea, the parties

most interested in the passing of the law, would naturally bear the greater portion of the blame. What I regret, is, though I never had the pleasure of even seeing you, that *you* should have so acted as to have come in for your share of the popular odium on this account. You! who *can* have no interest in the success of the law, supposing that success to be ever so complete.—Already, you see, Sir, the misled rabble have begun, and in your own country, too, to hang *bakers* and *millers* in *effigy*! This is the work of the base and prostituted press, whence the Lancasterian children are to imbibe their principles. The baker and miller gain nothing by the high price of corn, which, before they make into flour, they are compelled to buy. And yet they are hanged in *effigy*!—Now, Sir, the truth is, that the clamour arises, and will arise, with those, who, in one way or another, live upon the public money. They are always in fear of some *terrible change*, which, be it what it will, must oust them from their fattening stalls. They are always for keeping the poorer classes *quiet*.—Cheap bread is one of the most effectual means of doing this; and, therefore, they are always railing against monopolizers, grasping landlords and farmers, cheating millers and bakers. The cold sweat comes upon them when the quartern loaf mounts a pace. From this source comes all the clamour; and of this clamour you will never see an end, while there are so many persons who live upon the taxes.—*Peace* is a horrible object to many thousands, and, indeed, some hundreds of thousands, of these persons. They perceive that *their* allowance will be curtailed; but what must it be to them, then, if the loaf be still of the same price? They do not consider, or rather, they are incapable of perceiving, that (difference of *crops* aside) the price of the loaf must depend upon the amount of the taxes imposed on it through the funnel of the landowner and the farmer, and upon the value of the paper-money compared with that of specie. *Peace*, which has blessing in its sound to the rest of mankind, has quite upset this description of persons. They fear that the rabble, who have been expecting cheap bread (though it was *cheap before*), will be disappointed, and may make a noise.—What these people seem to want, therefore, is, that bread may become as cheap as it was *before the war*, and that all the *present taxes may still continue* to be paid!

Oh, no! thank you, gentlemen! The loaf pays the taxes, and, if you must have cheap bread, you must have less taxes.—But, Sir, why do I plague you with this, and why should you plague yourself with it?—Let those who live upon the taxes stand forward in the measures, intended to make them productive. You have none of the gain, and why should you share the odium?

MR. DE BERENGER.

I have no time to say much on what has passed in the House of Commons, relative to this gentleman. Two Members of Parliament, Messrs. Abercrombie and Barham, who spoke in favour of a Committee to enquire into the conduct of the Secretary of State, touching this matter, are reported to have said, that they *felt no sympathy* for the Petitioner. I do; I feel greatly for him; and I hope, that there are many who feel abundant indignation at the efforts made, through the infamous newspapers of London, to cause him to be *pre-judged*; than which any thing more detestable never was committed, even by that prostituted press, the guide of the Lancasterian children.—I shall make no remark on the conduct of Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Becket; but I am alarmed at what dropped from some one in the debate about the PROBABLE RENEWAL OF THE ALIEN ACT. This never can be intended, to be sure! What! An Act like this; or, indeed, any Alien Act at all, to *exist in time of peace*! Is every foreigner who comes into the country to live here at the mere mercy of the Minister of the day, even now when the House of Bourbon is restored to the throne of France? Are we never to see an end to this sort of power? My eyes begin to grow dim; but, are they to be closed before England is rid of this species of power? Am I never more to see my country divested of its cowardly fears?—I trust there was no ground for the alarming hint; and will, for the present, say no more of it.—What was the *real* cause of the seizure of Mr. De Berenger has not been yet proved, and, of course, it remains to be proved that he is now really held in prison for an offence against the *Alien Act*. But, if what he states, *as to his parentage*, be correct (and I see no reason to doubt it), I am decidedly of opinion, that, by the law of England, he is *not an alien*. His father was a natural born subject of the King of England. Mr. De Berenger must be, therefore, a

subject of the King, though born out of the country, else my son, who was born in America, is not a subject of the King. But it is a point not to be doubted, that the children of English subjects, born abroad, are English subjects, and we have hundreds of them (Sir Home Popham for one) in offices, which they could not legally hold if divested of that character.—But, besides this, Mr. De Berenger held a commission in the King's service. To do that *legally* he must be an English subject, except he belonged to a *foreign* corps, which he did not. The Act of Settlement expressly forbids offices of trust, civil or *military*, to be given to any but subjects of the King, and Mr. De Berenger held an office of trust.—One of two things, therefore, must be: either the law was violated in putting him in an office of trust, or it has been violated in seizing him, and in keeping him in jail, as an alien.—Only think, however, of the situation of a man, who is thought worthy of being made a commander of Englishmen, enrolled for the defence of their country, and who is, every day of his life, liable to be seized by a warrant, confined without cause assigned, or sent out of the country!—I shall say no more on the subject at present. I wish to offer no opinion upon Mr. De Berenger's conduct or case; but common justice compels us to *suspend* our judgment, at any rate; yes, and even to consider him as innocent till he be *proved* to be guilty. It was quite a new thing to see a self-erected tribunal, publishing against persons by name, what they had the impudence to call *evidence*, and after the country had had time to read that *ex-parte* evidence, to prefer an indictment against the accused. This was something *new* in England. Much as we had seen before, we had, till now, seen nothing equal to this. Then, after the indictment had been preferred; after the bill had been found, and the accusing party put off the trial, the vile newspapers published to the world, that it was the *accused* who had put off the trial, and insinuated, that they had so done in order to shift the hour of their punishment! And is it to such information and principles from a press like this, that men are spending their money to teach poor children to read?

PUBLIC DEBTORS.

MR. COBBETT.—As you are a man not very timid in promulgating your knowledge

and opinions to your extensive readers, I have taken the liberty of asking your advice on a subject wherein every person who pays taxes is materially interested. You probably recollect, that about ten or twelve years ago, one of the present great deliverers of Europe, who are very soon expected in this kingdom, borrowed seven millions of pounds sterling, which you, and I, and every individual in the nation (those of the blood-royal only excepted), are bound to pay the interest of, till that debt is extinguished.—Now, as it is, I believe, pretty well ascertained, that both debt and interest are hitherto undischarged, I wish to know your opinion, whether the said high-contracting party is arrestable for such debt, as soon as he sets his foot on English ground.—If such a measure is both legal and practicable, I hope the worthy Ministers, who are entrusted with the moonshine-money concerns of the nation, will not be bashful in the exercise of their duty. We all know, Mr. Cobbett, that the Duke d'Artois, brother to the present King of France, secreted himself in the precincts of Holyrood House, to prevent the disgrace of being shut up in a prison, for a debt which he either could not, or would not, pay. In England, although our happy laws permit Royalty to run in debt, without personal restraint, yet I never heard of the same lenient exemptions being extended here to the inhabitants of any other nation. Be so good, then, as to give me your opinion on this subject; and should you be induced to dilate on the merits of these coalesced Kings and Emperors, you can hint, that two of these Potentates, after swearing solemnly on the tomb of the great Frederick, not to make peace with the Corsican upstart, till he had restored to them the various places which his superior courage and skill had wrested from them; yet, in the teeth of this most sacred assertion, they not only did enter into such a peace, but also conjointly engaged with him to act both defensively and offensively against the interests of this country. What you may be disposed to say of the morality, political conduct, and tender sympathies towards his offspring, of the Emperor of Austria, I shall leave entirely to your own superior discretion; and should you be led to speak of the birth, parentage, and habits of Alexander the Great, I beseech you to tread lightly on the ashes of his progenitors. You may say that he had a father, and a grandfather too, who are both perhaps gone to Heaven; but

that for his own manifold good deeds in this world, you hope the disease that sent them both so hastily thither, will not be extended to a third generation. I am extremely awkward, Mr. Cobbett, at descriptions of this nature, or I would not have troubled you to be the midwife of these perhaps ridiculous conceptions. W. C.

Lynn, May 26th, 1814.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.—It is now ascertained that this extraordinary personage has reached the place of his destination in safety; and, instead of the inhabitants of Elba shewing any opposition to his landing on that island, they have given him, I think very properly, a most hearty and welcome reception. It was, indeed, absurd to suppose, that these islanders could be alarmed at the idea of the French Emperor burdening them with military conscriptions, for a moment's reflection must have satisfied them, that Napoleon, however fond he may be of warlike exploits, would in vain seek an enemy to encounter within the narrow circle to which he is now limited. Distinct from his military character, Bonaparte possesses talents calculated to promote, in a very high degree, the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Elba; and, if no new political event should occur on the continent of Europe, to bring him again on the stage as the commander of an army, the Elbese may very soon have occasion to congratulate themselves on his choice of their country, in preference to all others, as the place of his retirement. Napoleon appears to have landed at Porto Ferrajo on the evening of the 3d instant, and next day the fact was announced in the following manner by the resident General of Brigade Dalesme, and by the Vice Prefect of Elba:—

“*Inhabitants of the Isle of Elba!*—The vicissitudes of human life have conducted the Emperor Napoleon into the midst of you, and his choice gives him to you as Sovereign.—Before entering your interior, your august and new Monarch addressed to me the following words; and I hasten to communicate them to you, because they are the pledge of your future prosperity:—‘General, I have sacrificed my rights to the interests of my country, and have reserved to myself the sovereignty and property of the Isle of Elba; which has been assented to by all the Powers. Be so good as to inform the inhabitants of this new state of things, and of the selection which I have made of

their Isle for my residence, in consideration of the mildness of their manners, and of their climate. Tell them, they shall be the constant objects of my most lively interests.’—Elbese! These words require no commentary; they fix your destiny. The Emperor has formed a proper judgment of you; it is my duty to render you this justice, and I willingly do so.—Inhabitants of the Isle of Elba, I am about to leave you; this separation will be painful to me, because I love you sincerely; but the idea of your happiness mitigates the bitterness of my departure, and whenever I may, I shall always cherish a recollection of the virtues of the inhabitants of this Isle, and the wishes which I feel for them.—DALESME, General of Brigade.—Porto Ferrajo, May 4, 1814.

“*The Vice Prefect of the Isle of Elba, performing the Functions of Prefect, to the inhabitants of that Isle.*—The most fortunate event which could illustrate the history of the Isle of Elba is realised before your eyes.—Our august Sovereign, the Emperor Napoleon, is come among us.—Give, then, free course to that joy which must overflow your hearts: your wishes are accomplished, and the felicity of the Isle is secured.—Listen to the first memorable words which he has condescended to address to you, through the medium of the public functionaries:—‘I will be to you a good father, be you to me good children.’ Let them be for ever impressed on your grateful hearts.—Let us all rally around his sacred person, emulous in zeal and fidelity to save him, this will be the sweetest recompense to his grateful heart, and thus shall we render ourselves worthy of that signal favour which Providence has conferred on us—BALBIANI, Vice-Prefect.—Office of Prefecture, at Porto-Ferrajo, May 4, 1814.

On the 6th instant the Vicar General apprised the clergy of the island of the event by the following rescript:—

“Giuseppe Filippo Arrighi, Honorary Canon of the Cathedral of Pisa, and of the Metropolitan Church of Florence, and under the Bishop of Ajaccio, Vicar-General of the Isle of Elba, and Principality of Piombino, to the beloved in the Lord, our Brethren composing the Clergy and all the Faithful in the Isle, health and benediction!—That high Providence which irresistibly and beneficently disposes of every thing, and assigns to nations their destiny, has determined that, amidst the political changes

of Europe, we should in future be the subjects of Napoleon the Great. The Isle of Elba, already celebrated for its natural productions, must now be more illustrious in the history of nations, because it renders homage to its new Prince of immortal fame. The Isle of Elba takes its place in the rank of nations; and the minuteness of its territory becomes ennobled by the name of its Ruler. Elevated to an honour so sublime, it receives into its bosom the anointed of the Lord, and those other distinguished personages who accompany him.—When his Imperial and Royal Majesty selected this Isle for his retreat, he announced to the world with what predilection he loved it. Opulence will inundate this country, and multitudes will flock from other parts to our territory to behold a hero. The first day he set foot upon our shore, he pronounced our destiny and our felicity. ‘I will be a good father,’ said he, ‘be you good children.’—Beloved Catholics, what words of tenderness! what expressions of benevolence! what hopes may we not cherish of our future felicity! Let these words then form the delight of your thoughts, and be impressed on your souls with transports of consolation; let fathers rehearse them to their children, and let the memory of the words which secure glory and prosperity to the Isle of Elba, be perpetual from generation to generation.—Fortunate citizens of Porto-Ferrajo! within your walls the sacred person of his Imperial and Royal Majesty is to dwell. Mild in character at all times, constant in affection to your Prince, NAPOLEON THE GREAT resides with you; never belie the favourable idea which he formed of you.—Beloved, faithful in Jesus Christ, act in correspondence to your fate; *Non sint schismata inter vos: idem supite, pacem habete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum.* Let fidelity, gratitude, submission, reign in your hearts. Let all of you unite in a respectful sentiment of internal affection for your Prince, Father rather than Sovereign; and exult with sacred joy in the goodness of the Lord, who, from the ages of eternity, had destined for you this happy event. With this view we order that next Sunday, in all the churches, a solemn *Te Deum* be sung, in thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the precious gift which, in the abundance of his mercy, he has conferred upon us.—Given from the Ecclesiastical Court of Elba, 6th May. (Signed) GIUSEPPE FILIPPO ARRIGHI, Vicar-Gen. FRANCESCO ANGIOLETTI, Secretary.”

SPAIN.—This beautiful country, I am afraid, is on the eve of once more becoming the sport of a sanguinary Revolution. Ferdinand has reached the capital; but instead of swearing to the Constitution, which had been previously drawn up by the Cortes, who have been supposed to possess the character of representatives of the people, his Majesty has issued a Declaration, by which he not only dissolves that Body, but declares all their acts of government null and void. It is not easy, with the limited information possessed in this country, as to the real state of matters in Spain, to form a correct idea of the motives which could induce the King of Spain to take so decided a step; but if one were to judge from the torrent of abuse which has been heaped upon Ferdinand for this act, by the *Times* and the *Courier* newspapers, it might be supposed that his Spanish Majesty had committed some abominable act of aggression against this country or its Government. It is true, the Cortes owed their political existence, in a great measure, to Duke Wellington, and thence may arise the hatred which has been expressed as to the dissolution of that Body. It is even hinted in the *Times*, that the noble Duke should be sent back to Spain to support the cause of the Cortes against the King. Here indeed would be a new contest to justify the continuance of the income tax, and all war establishment. By and bye, we shall see what it will turn to. Meanwhile I have inserted the Declaration of the King of Spain, which the *Courier* has chosen to designate “a most paltry document—a document disgusting from its falsehood and hypocrisy, and contemptible for its puny reasoning.”

STATE PAPER.

Since the period when Divine Providence, in consequence of the spontaneous and solemn resignation of my august father, placed me on the throne of my ancestors, of which the kingdom took the oaths to me, as heir by its procurators assembled in Cortes, according to the law and custom of the Spanish nation, practised from the most remote periods; and since that happy day on which I entered the capital, amidst the most sincere demonstrations of affection and loyalty, with which the people of Madrid came out to receive me, this display of love towards my royal person making a deep impression on the French hosts, who, under the cloak of friendship, had advanced as far as that city, being a pre-

age of what that heroic population would one day perform for their King and for their honour, and giving that example which the other parts of the kingdom have nobly followed: since that day, I determined in my royal mind to reply to sentiments so loyal, and to satisfy the great obligations which a king is under towards his subjects, to dedicate my whole time to the discharge of such august functions, and to repair the evils which the pernicious influence of a favourite had caused in the preceding reign.—My first labours were directed to the restoration of various magistrates and other persons, who had been arbitrarily removed from their functions; but the difficult state of affairs, and the perfidy of Bonaparte, from the cruel effects of which I wished, by proceeding to Bayonne, to preserve my people, scarcely allowed time for more. The royal family being assembled there, an atrocious attack was perpetrated on the whole of it, and particularly on my person, unequalled in the history of civilised nations, both in its circumstances and in the series of events which took place there; and the sacred law of nations being there violated in the highest degree, I was deprived of my liberty, stripped of the government of my kingdoms, and conveyed to a palace with my very dear brother and uncle, which served as a sort of honourable prison for about the space of six years. Amidst this affliction, I had always present to my mind the love and loyalty of my people, and the consideration of the endless calamities to which they were exposed formed a great part of my griefs; inundated as they were with enemies, nearly destitute of all means of resistance, without King, and without a government previously established, which might put in motion and unite at its voice the force of the nation, direct its impulse, and avail itself of the resources of the State, to combat the forces which simultaneously invaded the Peninsula, and had treacherously got possession of its principal fortresses. In this lamentable situation, as the only remedy that remained, I issued, as well as I could while surrounded by force, the Decree of the 5th of May, 1808, addressed to the Council of Castile, and in defect of it to any other Board of Audience that might bear liberty, in order that the Cortes might be convoked, who had only to employ themselves on the spur of the moment, in raising the taxes and supplies necessary for the defence of the kingdom, remaining permanent for

other events which might occur: but this my Royal Decree unfortunately was not known then; and although it was afterwards known, the provinces provided for the same object, as soon as the accounts reached them of the cruel tragedy perpetrated in Madrid on the memorable 2d of May, by the Chief of the French troops, through the instrumentality of the Juntas which they created. Next took place the glorious battle of Baylen: the French fled as far as Vittoria, and all the provinces, with the capital, proclaimed me, anew, King of Castile and Leon, in the metropolis, with the same formalities as the Kings my august predecessors. This is a recent fact, of which the medals struck in all parts afford demonstrative proof, and which the people through whom I have passed since my return from France have confirmed by the effusion of *vivas*, which moved the sensibility of my heart, where they are engraved never to be effaced. From the deputies nominated by the Juntas, the Central Junta was formed; who exercised in my Royal name all the powers of Sovereignty from Sept. 1808, till Jan. 1810; in which month was established the first Council of Regency, in whom the exercise of that power continued till the 24th of September of the same year: on which day were installed in the isle of Leon the Cortes called General and Extraordinary, when 104 Deputies took the oaths, in which they engaged to preserve for me my dominions as their Sovereign; all which appears from the act certified by the Secretary of State Don Nicolas Maria de Sierra. But these Cortes, assembled in a manner never used in Spain, even in the most arduous cases, and in the most turbulent times of the minorities of Kings, in which the Assembly of Procurators was wont to be more numerous than in the common and ordinary Cortes, were not called the States of the Nobility and Clergy, although the Central Junta had so ordered, this Decree having been artfully concealed from the Council of Regency, and also the fact that the Junta had assigned to it the Presidency of the Cortes, a prerogative of the Crown which the Regency would not have left to the decision of the Congress, if it had been acquainted therewith. In consequence of this, every thing remained at the disposal of the Cortes; who, on the very day of their installation, and by way of commencement to their acts, despoiled me of my sovereignty, which the same deputies had only a little

before acknowledged, ascribing it nominally to the nation, in order to appropriate it to themselves, and then, upon such usurpation, to dictate to the nation such laws as they pleased, imposing upon it the yoke by which it should receive them compulsorily, in a new Constitution, which the deputies established without authority of the provinces, people, or juntas, and without the knowledge of those provinces which were said to be represented by substitutes from Spain and the Indies. This Constitution they sanctioned and published in 1812. This first attack upon the prerogatives of the throne, abusing the name of the nation, became, as it were, the basis of many other attacks which followed it; and in spite of the repugnance of many deputies, perhaps of the majority, they were adopted and raised to the rank of laws, which they called fundamental, by means of the shouts, threats, and violence of those who attended in the galleries of the Cortes, with which they alarmed and terrified; and that which was in truth the work of a faction, was clothed with the specious mask of the general will, and for such will that of a few seditious persons, who in Cadiz, and afterwards in Madrid, occasioned affliction to all good citizens, made their own to pass. These facts are so notorious, that there is scarcely any one who is ignorant of them; and the very Diaries of the Cortes furnish ample proof of them. A mode of making laws so foreign to the Spanish nation, gave occasion to an alteration of the good laws under which, in other times, it was respected and happy. In truth, almost all the forms of the ancient constitution of the Monarchy were innovated upon; and copying the revolutionary and democratic principles of the French constitution of 1791, they sanctioned, not the fundamental laws of a moderate Monarchy, but those of a popular Government, with a chief, or magistrate, their mere delegated executor, and not a King, although they gave him that name, to deceive and seduce the unwary and the nation. Under the same want of liberty this same Constitution was signed and sworn to; and it is known to all, not only what passed with regard to the respectable Bishop of Orense, but also the punishment with which those were threatened who refused to sign and swear to it.—To prepare the public mind to receive such novelties, especially those regarding my royal person and the prerogatives of the Crown, the public newspa-

pers were resorted to as a means, some of which the Deputies of the Cortes conducted, and abused the liberty of the press established by them, to render the Royal power odious, giving to all the rights of Majesty the name of despotism—making King and Despot synonymous terms,—and calling Kings Tyrants, while at the same time they cruelly persecuted every one who had the firmness to contradict them, or to dissent from this revolutionary and seditious mode of thinking; and in every thing democracy was affected, the army and navy, and all other establishments which, from time immemorial, had been called Royal, being stripped of that name, and National substituted, with which they flattered the people; who, however, in spite of these perverse arts, retained, by their natural loyalty, the good feelings which always formed their character. Of all this, since I have happily entered the kingdom, I have been acquiring faithful information and knowledge, partly from my own observations, and partly from the public papers, in which, up to this very day, representations of my arrival and my character are impudently circulated, so gross and infamous in themselves, that even with regard to any other individual they would constitute very heavy offences, worthy of severe notice and punishment. Circumstances so unexpected have filled my heart with bitterness, which could only be alleviated by the demonstrations of affection from all those who hoped for my arrival, in order that by my presence an end might be put to these calamities, and to the oppression in which those were, who retained in their minds the remembrance of my person, and sighed for the true happiness of their country. I swear and promise to you, true and loyal Spaniards, at the same time that I sympathise with the evils which you have suffered, you shall not be disappointed of your noble expectations. Your Sovereign wishes to be so on your account, and in this he places his glory, that he is the Sovereign of an heroic nation, who by their immortal deeds have gained the admiration of the world, and preserved their liberty and honour. I abhor and detest despotism; neither the intelligence and cultivation of the nations of Europe could now endure it: nor in Spain were its kings ever despots. Neither its good laws, nor constitution, authorised despotism; although unfortunately, from time to time, as happens every where else, and in every thing human,

there may have been abuses of power which no possible Constitution can wholly guard against; nor were they the faults of the Constitution which the nation had, but of individuals, and the effects of unpleasant but very rare circumstances, which gave occasion to them. However, in order to avert them, as effectually as human foresight will allow, namely, by preserving the honour of the royal dignity, and its rights, since those appertaining to it and to the people are equally inviolable, I will treat with the procurators of Spain and of the Indies: and order being restored, together with the good usages under which the nation has lived, and which the Kings my predecessors established with its consent, every thing that relates to the good of my kingdoms shall be solidly and legitimately enacted, in Cortes legitimately assembled, as soon as it may be possible to do so, in order that my subjects may live prosperous and happy, in one religion, and under one government, strictly united by indissoluble ties. In this, and in this alone, consist the temporal felicity of a King and a kingdom, which enjoy the title of Catholic, by way of eminence; and immediately preparations shall be made for what may appear best towards the assembling of such a Cortes; in which, I trust, the bases of the prosperity of my subjects, in both hemispheres, may be confirmed. The liberty and security of persons and property shall be firmly secured by means of laws, which, guaranteeing public liberty and order, shall leave to all that salutary liberty, whose undisturbed enjoyment distinguishes a moderate from an arbitrary and despotic Government, and in which the citizens subject to the former ought to live. This just liberty all likewise shall enjoy, in order to communicate through the press their ideas and thoughts, within those limits, however, which sound reason imperiously prescribes to all, that it may not degenerate into licentiousness; for the respect which is due to religion and the government, and that which men mutually owe towards each other, can under no civilized government be reasonably permitted to be violated and trampled upon with impunity.—All suspicion, likewise, of any dissipation of the revenues of the State shall cease; those which are assigned for the expences required by the honour of my royal person and family, and that of the nation whom I have the glory to govern, being separated from the revenues which, by the consent of the kingdom,

may be imposed and assigned for the maintenance of the State in all branches of the administration. The laws, which shall in future serve as a rule of action to my subjects, shall also be enacted in concert with the Cortes, inasmuch as these bases may serve as an authentic declaration of my royal intentions in the Government with which I am about to be vested, and will represent to all neither a despot nor a tyrant, but a King, and a father of his subjects; having in like manner heard from the unanimous declarations of persons respectable for their zeal and knowledge, and from representations made to me from various parts of the kingdom, in which are expressed the repugnance and disgust with which both the Constitution formed by the General and Extraordinary Cortes, as well as the other political establishments recently introduced, are regarded in the provinces; considering also the mischiefs which have sprung therefrom, and would increase, should I assent to and swear to the said Constitution; acting in conformity to such general and decided demonstrations of the wishes of my people, and also because they are just and well founded; I declare, that my royal intention is, not only not to swear nor accede to the said Constitution, nor to any Decree of the General and Extraordinary Cortes, and of the Ordinary at present sitting, those, to-wit, which derogate from the rights and prerogatives of my sovereignty, established by the constitution and the laws under which the nation has lived in times past, but to pronounce that Constitution and such Decrees null and of no effect, now, or at any other time, as if such acts had never passed, and that they are entirely abrogated, and without any obligation on my people and subjects, of whatever class and condition, to fulfil or observe them. And as he who should attempt to support them, and shall thus contradict my royal proclamation, adopted with the above agreement and assent, will attack the prerogatives of my sovereignty, and the happiness of the nation, and will cause discontent and disturbance in my kingdoms, I declare, whoever shall dare to attempt the same will be guilty of High Treason, and as such subject to capital punishment, whether he perform the same by deed, by writing, or by words, moving and exciting, or in any other way exhorting and persuading, that the said Constitution and Decrees be kept and observed.—And in order that, until public order be

restored, together with the system observed in the kingdom prior to the introduction of these novelties, for the attainment of which suitable measures shall be taken without delay, the administration of justice may not be interrupted, it is my will, that in the mean time, the ordinary magistracies of towns shall be continued as now established, the Courts of Law where there are such, and the Audiencias, Intendents, and other judicial tribunals; and in the political and administrative branches, the common councils of towns according to their present constitution, until the Cortes, who shall be summoned, being heard, the stable order of this part of the Government of the kingdom be assented to. And from the day on which this my Decree shall be published and communicated to the President for the time being of the Cortes at present met, the said Cortes shall cease their sittings; and their acts with those of the preceding Cortes, together with whatever documents or dispatches shall be in their office of archives and secretaryship, or in the possession of any other individual, whatever, shall be collected by the person charged with the execution of this my Royal Decree; and shall be deposited for the present in the Guildhall of the city of Madrid, the room in which they are placed being locked and sealed up: the books of their library shall be conveyed to the royal library; and whosoever shall endeavour to obstruct the execution of this part of my Royal Decree, in any way whatever, I also declare him guilty of High Treason, and that as such the punishment of death shall be inflicted upon him. And from this day shall cease in every tribunal of the kingdom all proceedings in any cause, now pending for any infraction of the Constitution, and and those who, for such causes, have been imprisoned or arrested, shall be immediately at liberty. Such then is my will, because the welfare and happiness of the nation require it.—Given at Valencia, the 4th of May, 1814.—I, THE KING.—Pedro de Macanez, Secretary of Decrees.—As Captain General of New Castile, Political and Military Governor of the whole Province, and by order of his Majesty Don Ferdinand VII. whom God preserve, I cause it to be published.—FRANCISCO RAMON DE ECUIA Y LETONA.—Madrid, May 11, 1814.

NAPLES.—From the following Document, it appears that Murat is likely to have some trouble with Ferdinand the IV.

respecting the occupation of the throne of Naples:—*Declaration*.—"Ferdinand IV. by the Grace of God, King of the Two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem, Infant of Spain, &c. Profoundly indignant at the perfidious report spread by our enemies, that we have renounced, or that we are disposed to renounce, our rights to the Kingdom of Naples, we think it our duty to make known the falsehood of such reports to the powers, our Allies, to all nations, and particularly to our subjects, and very dear children of the kingdom of Naples, by declaring solemnly that we never have renounced, and that we are unalterably resolved never to renounce, our legitimate and incontestible rights to the kingdom of Naples, and that our fixed and unchangeable will is to accept of no offer of indemnity, nor any compensation whatsoever for the said kingdom, which we are determined to preserve for ourself, and to transmit to our immediate successor, in the same manner as it has been transmitted to us by our Father of highly glorious memory. All the measures which we have hitherto taken, and which we are now executing in the employment of our troops, and their union with the forces of our august and ancient Allies, have had, and have no other object but to co-operate with them, with a view to the triumph of the just and general cause, and of concurring in their magnanimous views, so often manifested for the overthrow of all usurpations, and for the re-establishment of justice and legitimate authority.—FERDINAND."

"Palermo, April 24, 1814."

PEACE.—The *Courier*, of last night, states on this subject, that "Accounts from Lord Castlereagh, dated on Tuesday last, have been received, which, it is reported, announce that the Peace was to be signed on Wednesday last—that the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia meant to set out for this country positively on Monday next. They may be expected on Wednesday or Thursday. They are to land at Dover, and a Telegraphic Message to that effect is understood to have been sent off this morning to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence. The Emperor of Germany proceeds almost immediately to Italy upon very important business."

ERRATUM.—In the last REGISTER, page 643, line 24, from the bottom, for "many hundreds of thousands of *lives*," read *livres*.